

# A Newly Acquired Gospel Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks (DO MS 5)

## *Codicological and Paleographic Description and Analysis*

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On 7 July 2009, in London, Sotheby's held an auction titled "Western Manuscripts and Miniatures and the Korner Sale." Among many manuscripts in different languages offered for sale, a rare, beautifully illuminated middle Byzantine gospel manuscript (lot 16) was purchased by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections for its Byzantine collection. The manuscript received the call number "Dumbarton Oaks MS 5" (referred to hereafter as DO MS 5). This manuscript contains a full set of ten canon tables, Eusebios's *Letter to Karpianos*, five full-page miniatures (Christ Enthroned and portraits of the four evangelists), and the four gospels. Each gospel is preceded by a list of chapter titles and opens with a headpiece and a decorated initial. The text of the four gospels is complete (without lacunae). The manuscript has a Gregory-Aland (GA) number 678, but it has not yet been included in the T&T (= Text und Textwert) clusters tool created by the Münster Institute for New Testament Textual Research.<sup>1</sup>

Detailed provenance information of DO MS 5 can be found in Sotheby's description, which is kept in

<sup>1</sup> The T&T MSS. clusters tool enables scholars to identify New Testament manuscripts that are closely related textually: [http://inf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/TT\\_Clusters.html](http://inf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/TT_Clusters.html). See K. Maxwell, "The Textual Affiliation of Deluxe Byzantine Gospel Books," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. D. Krueger and R. Nelson (Washington, DC, 2016). For the GA entry, see K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 1994), 87, no. 678.

the manuscript file at Dumbarton Oaks. Notably, two important European manuscript collectors previously owned this gospel codex: Frederick North, fifth earl of Guilford (1766–1827), who acquired the manuscript probably during his residence in Corfu, and Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), who acquired many of the Guilford manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Phillipps's remarkable collection is now widely dispersed. Some of Phillipps's Greek manuscripts were purchased by renowned American collectors and major American universities—for example, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 46 (a ninth-century "philosophical collection" manuscript, which was purchased by Philip Hofer and bequeathed to Harvard's Houghton Library); New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.652 (an illustrated codex of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, which was executed in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century; the manuscript was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan for his famous collection); and New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Smith Western Add. MS 10 (which was executed in 1296 and contains *Πηγὴ γνῶσεως* by St. John of Damascus with a commentary composed and written by the famous Byzantine astronomer Gregory Chioniades; the

<sup>2</sup> The Phillipps number of the manuscript is MS 3886. On Sir Thomas Phillipps, see N. Barker, *Portrait of an Obsession: The Life of Sir Thomas Phillipps, the World's Greatest Book Collector* (London, 1967).

manuscript was purchased by the Library with funds bequeathed by David Eugene Smith.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, DO MS 5 joins a distinguished group of manuscripts that once belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps and are now housed in American libraries.

Since the early nineteenth century, DO MS 5 was in private hands and was not available to professional scholars. The manuscript was not thoroughly described and analyzed, and its codicological and paleographic features and decoration were virtually unknown to scholars in the international Byzantine studies community.<sup>4</sup> This lacuna is now remedied, with a complete set of digital photographs, published online, and this article, which provides a codicological and paleographical description and analysis of DO MS 5.<sup>5</sup>

## Contents

The codex contains the following items. Transcriptions of the Greek retain the orthography and accentuation of the manuscript (with accent placement normalized). Word spaces, capitalization, and ligatures have been normalized. Punctuation has been either suppressed (e.g., suspension marks) or normalized (numeral signs). Greek text is presented in diplomatic transcription.

Fol. 1r: blank (pigments from the first canon table on fol. iv penetrated the parchment).

<sup>3</sup> On MS Typ 46, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part V.3, Harvard University, The Houghton Library,” *Manuscripta* 55, no. 1 (2011): 1–108, esp. 17–29. On MS M.652, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part IV.2, The Morgan Library and Museum,” *Manuscripta* 52, no. 2 (2008): 207–324, esp. 212–30. On codex Smith Western Add. MS 10, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part I, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library,” *Manuscripta* 49, no. 2 (2005): 165–245, esp. 217–26.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript was briefly described (as Phillipps 3886) in H. C. Hoskier, *A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604* [Egerton 2610 in the British Museum] (London, 1890), appendix E, 2–3; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the Use of Biblical Students*, 4th ed. (London, 1894), 251, no. 529.

<sup>5</sup> Complete images of DO MS 5 are available at <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/23419344> (accessed 12 May 2016).

Fols. 4v–6r: Canon tables. Fols. 1v–2r: canon I; fols. 2v–3r: canon II; fol. 3v: canons III and IV; fol. 4r: canon V; fol. 4v: canon VI; fol. 5r: canons VII and VIII; fol. 5v: canon IX; fols. 5v–6r: canon X. *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle, E. Nestle, B. Aland, and K. Aland, 27th ed. (Stuttgart, 2006) (herein, *NTG*), 85\*–89\*.

Fols. 6v–7r: blank (pigments from the last canon table on fol. 6r and from the headpiece, title, and initial on fol. 7v penetrated the parchment).

Fols. 7v–9r: Letter of Eusebios to Karpianos. Title (fol. 7v): ‘Υπόθεσις κανόνος· τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίας. Εὐσέβιος Καρπιανῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν. Inc. (fol. 7v): Ἀμμώνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς . . . ;<sup>6</sup> expl. (fol. 9r): . . . λέγοντας αὐτοὺς εὐρήσεις. ”Ἐρρωστὸν Κ(υρί)ῳ. ‘Υπόθεσις κανόνος τῶν Δ' εὐαγγελιστῶν. *NTG*, 84\*–85\*.

Fol. 9v: blank.

Fols. 10r–11v: List of chapter titles for Matthew (1–68). Title (fol. 10r): Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΜΑΤΘΑΪΟC. Subtitle (fol. 10r): Τοῦ κατὰ Ματθ(αῖον) εὐ(αγ) γ(ελίου) τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc. (fol. 10r): α' Πε(ρὶ) τῶν μάγων; expl. (fol. 11v): ξη' Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κ(υρί)ον. H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1911–13) (herein, Soden), 1.1:405–7.

Fol. 12r: blank.

Fol. 12v: full-page miniature of Christ Enthroned, with the inscription in red ink: I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C.

Fol. 13r: blank. No trace of the Christ miniature bled onto this page.

Fol. 13v: full-page miniature of the evangelist Matthew, with the inscription in red ink: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΜΑΤΘΑΪΟC.

Fols. 14r–10or: The gospel of Matthew. Title (fol. 14r): ΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟ(N) ΚΑΤÀ ΜΑΤΘΑΪΟΝ. Inc. (fol. 14r): Βί(βλος) γενέσεως Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ νίοῦ Δα(υὶ)δ . . . ; expl. (fol. 10or): . . . ἔως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰώνος. Ἀμήν. *NTG*, 1–87.

Fols. 100v–101v: List of chapter titles for Mark (1–49). Title (fol. 100v): Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΜΑΡΚΟC.

<sup>6</sup> The word μὲν is written above the line, as if the scribe omitted and corrected it himself.

- Subtitle (fol. 100v): Τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc. (fol. 100v): α' Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου; expl. (fol. 101v): μθ' Περὶ τῆς ἔξαιτήσεως (αἰτήσεως in Soden) τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, καὶ Θ(εο)ῦ. Soden, 1.1:407–9.
- Fol. 102r: blank.
- Fol. 102v: full-page miniature of Mark, with the inscription in red ink: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟΣ ΜÁΡΚΟC.
- Fols. 103r–158r: The gospel of Mark. Title (fol. 103r): ΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜÁΡΚ(ΟΝ). Inc. (fol. 103r): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ. ώς γέγραπται . . . ; expl. (fol. 158r): . . . διὰ τῶν ἐπακολούθουντων σημείων. Ἀμήν. NTG, 88–149.
- Fol. 158v: blank.
- Fols. 159r–160v: List of chapter titles for Luke (1–83). Title (fol. 159r): Ὁ ἍΓΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΆC. Subtitle (fol. 159r): Τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc. (fol. 159r): α' Πε(ρὶ) τῆς ἀπογραφῆς; expl. (fol. 160v): πγ' Πε(ρὶ) Κλεόπα. Soden, 1.1:409–11.
- Fol. 161r: blank.
- Fol. 161v: full-page miniature of Luke, with the inscription in red ink: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΆC.
- Fols. 162r–254v: The gospel of Luke. Title (fol. 162r): ΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚÁN. Inc. (fol. 162r): Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι . . . ; expl. (fol. 254v): . . . αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἀμήν. NTG, 150–246.
- Fol. 255r: blank.
- Fol. 255v: List of chapter titles for John (1–18). Title: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC). Subtitle: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ιω(άννην) εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc. α' Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου; expl. ιη' Πε(ρὶ) τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος. Soden, 1.1:411.
- Fol. 256r: blank.
- Fol. 256v: full-page miniature of John, with the inscription in red ink: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC) Ὁ ΘΕÓΛΟΓO(C).
- Fols. 257r–326r: The gospel of John. Title (fol. 257r): ΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗN). Inc. (fol. 257r): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος . . . ; expl. (fol. 326r): . . . χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Ἀμήν. NTG, 247–319.
- Fol. 326v: erased and illegible colophon, possibly scribal.

## Physical Description

Support material: parchment; number of folios: 327 (foliated 1–326; two folios had the same number 208 and are now corrected to 208 and 208a); dimensions: 263–266 × 199–205 mm. There is one paper fly-leaf in the beginning of the manuscript (not numbered). The text is written in one column of twenty lines with the interlinear space 9–10 mm; written surface is 180 × 115–125 mm. Ruling pattern is Sautel-Leroy 44C1 (fig. 1); ruling system is 1 (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> Pricking is visible in the top and bottom margins, and only in the twenty-seventh quire (fols. 198–205) is pricking visible in the outer margin. Pricking is in the form of small triangles. The parchment is of very good quality, medium thin to medium thick, soft and smooth, creamy-white (flesh side) and ivory-yellowish (hair side). The miniatures were painted on parchment of the same quality as the rest of the manuscript. There are no imperfections commonly found in lower-quality manuscripts (holes, scalloping, dark hair follicles, etc.). A torn lower right corner of fol. 25 was repaired with stitches. A large yellow stain (perhaps lamp oil) is on fol. 235. The last folio has darkened to brownish-yellow spots and was damaged by bookworms around the margins, but the text was not affected. There is some soiling, but the general condition of the manuscript is very good.

## Quires

Each gospel begins in a new quire. The prefatory material (Letter of Eusebios and lists of chapter titles) and the miniatures are on inserted folios or bifolia. There are forty-six quires in the manuscript, described in table 1.

The quire signatures are non-scribal ( $\alpha'$ – $\mu\zeta'$ );<sup>8</sup> they are in the upper right corner of the first recto of each quire (a few signatures are missing because of the damage to some of the upper corners). It is not possible to assign a date to these signatures because

<sup>7</sup> J.-H. Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin: Base de données établie par Jacques-Hubert Sautel à l'aide du fichier Leroy et des catalogues récents à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, *Bibliologia* 13 (Turnhout, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> The writer of the quire signatures counted folio 102 (a single folio) as a separate quire and concluded that there are forty-seven, not forty-six, quires in this manuscript ( $\mu\zeta' = 47$ ).

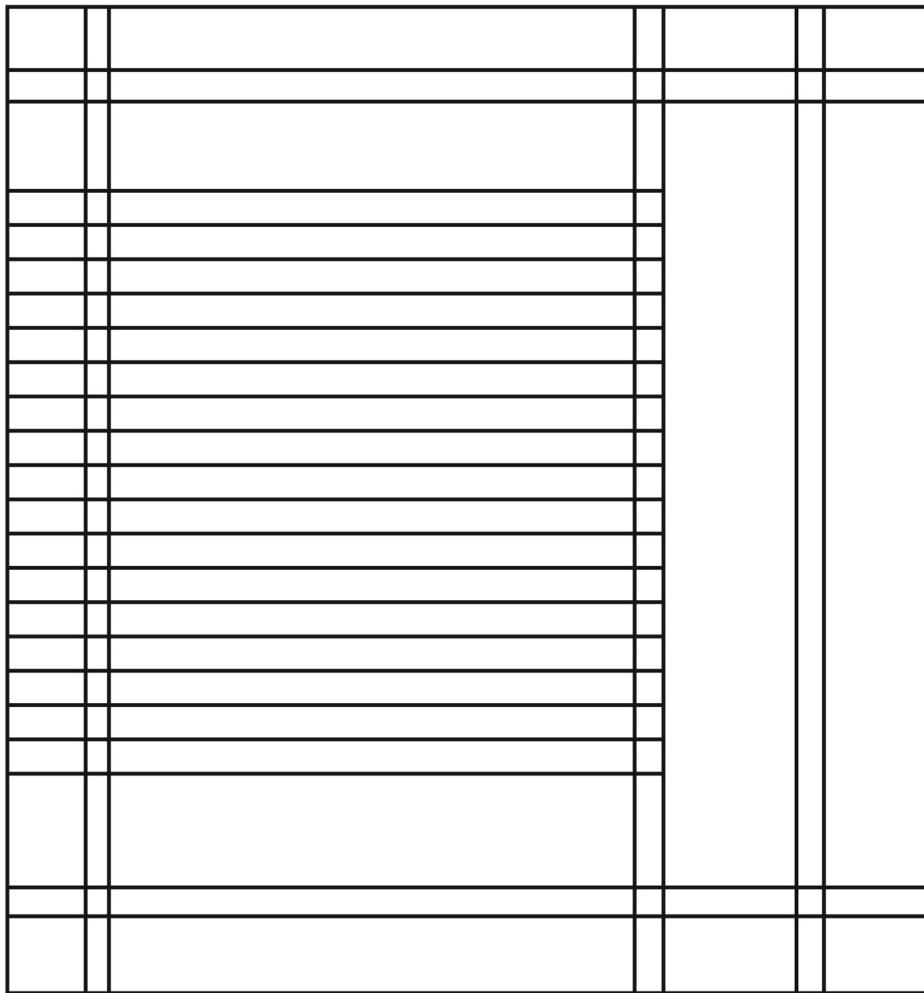


FIG. 1. Ruling pattern 44C1.

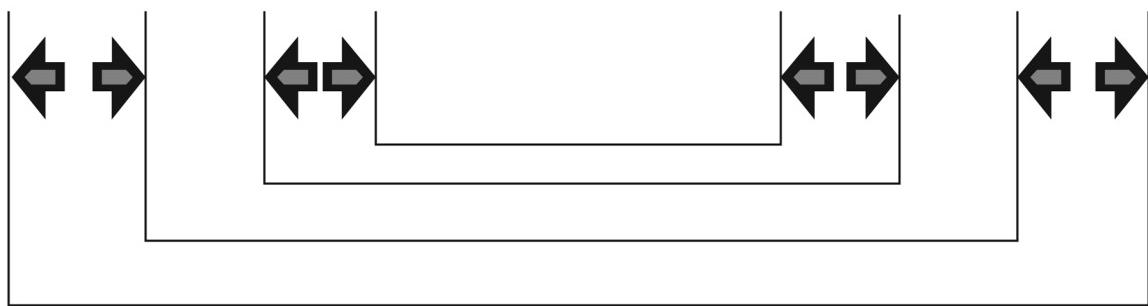


FIG. 2. Ruling system 1. Marks indicate the side of the folio that has been ruled, which also corresponds with the hair side of the parchment

Table 1. Quires in DO MS 5.

Quire no.	Folios	Type and comments	Quire no.	Folios	Type and comments
1	1–6	ternion	24	162–69	quaternion
2	7–9	bifolium + single folium	25	170–75	ternion
3	10–11	bifolium	26	176–83	quaternion
4	12–13	bifolium with miniatures	27	184–89	ternion
5	14–21	quaternion	28	190–97	quaternion
6	22–29	quaternion	29	198–205	quaternion
7	30–37	quaternion	30	206–12	quaternion, which includes folios 208 and 208a
8	38–45	quaternion	31	213–20	quaternion
9	46–53	quaternion	32	221–28	quaternion
10	54–61	quaternion	33	229–36	quaternion
11	62–69	quaternion	34	237–44	quaternion
12	70–77	quaternion	35	245–52	quaternion
13	78–85	quaternion	36	253–54	bifolium
14	86–93	quaternion	37	255–56	bifolium with a miniature
15	94–101	quaternion	38	257–64	quaternion
16	102–10	single folium with a miniature + quaternion	39	265–72	quaternion
17	111–18	quaternion	40	273–78	ternion
18	119–26	quaternion	41	279–86	quaternion
19	127–34	quaternion	42	287–94	quaternion
20	135–42	quaternion	43	295–302	quaternion
21	143–50	quaternion	44	303–10	quaternion
22	151–58	quaternion	45	311–18	quaternion
23	159–61	bifolium + single folium with a miniature	46	319–26	quaternion

paleographic evidence is insufficient. Zeta written in the shape of a question mark and a greyish tint of the ink suggest that the signatures were added after the thirteenth century.

### Fly-Leaves

The paper of the fly-leaf is medium thick, with chain-lines 39 mm apart and eighteen laid-lines in 20 mm. The paper has a watermark “hand” with four fingers joined together and a thumb that is stretched out; a six-ray star with a small circle in the middle is raised up on a stem from the middle finger; on the palm, there are a horseshoe-shaped form and a letter “B”, which are linked via an arc in the shape of a small steeple (fig. 3). The length of the watermark is 90 mm; the length of the hand is 50 mm; the width of the hand is 27 mm at the largest points. An identical watermark was not

found. Similar watermarks are found on paper produced in Italy in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (Hewood, numbers 2467–76, AD 1503–25).<sup>9</sup>

### Script

The manuscript was copied by one anonymous scribe. His script is large, airy, and calligraphic liturgical *Perlschrift*, which was typical for the manuscripts produced in the second half of the eleventh century (fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> The

9 Cf. E. Hewood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia 1 (Hilversum, 1950), 119 and pl. 326.

10 On *Perlschrift*, see H. Hunger, *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954), 22–32 (repr. in idem, *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973), no. I; D. Bianconi, “Età comnena e cultura scritta: Materiali e considerazioni alle origini di una ricerca,” in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three*

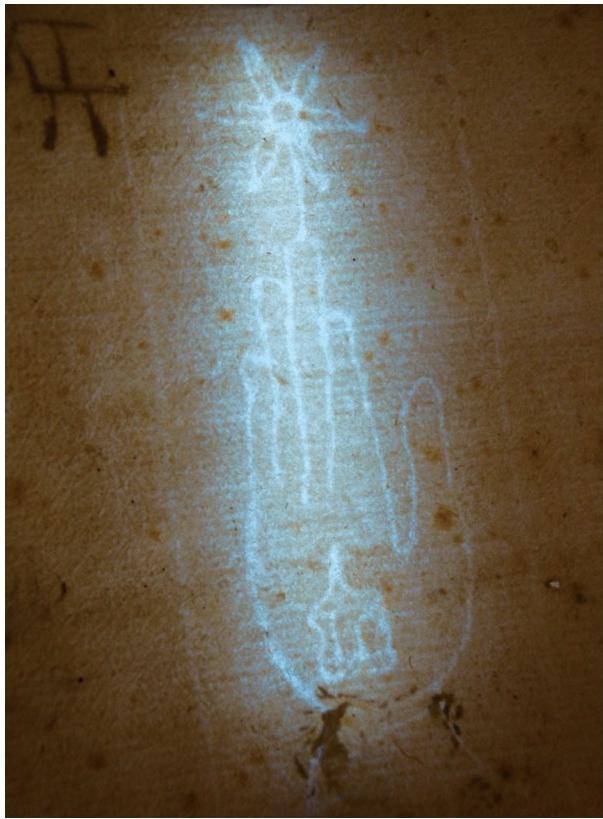


FIG. 3. DO MS 5, fly-leaf, watermark “hand” with a six-ray star (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC)

ink is medium brown with a slight chestnut tint; on fol. 22r–29v, 103r–112r, 162r–172r, and 257r–264v ink is medium brown without a chestnut tint. The Letter of Eusebios and lists of chapter titles were written by the scribe in large Alexandrian majuscules (fig. 5). Diacritics are small; breathings are mostly angular, but some are rounded. There are usual abbreviations for *nomina sacra* and a few word-ending abbreviations at the end of a line.

The scribe displays an assured and highly trained professional hand. Some letters—such as zeta in the shape of a 3, the round closed form of theta, majuscule kappa, phi, and tachygraphic abbreviation for καὶ—are enlarged, but well proportioned. Upper and lower

Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid-Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008), ed. A. Bravo García and I. Pérez Martín, 2 vols., *Bibliologia* 31A (Turnhout, 2010), 75–96 and 707–18.

strokes of most letters are reduced, and there are only occasional elongated lower strokes of some letters or flourishes in the bottom margin. The highly controlled handwriting contains very few idiosyncratic letters and ligatures; among these are xi and majuscule zeta, which often has a distinctive small hook at the end of the lower stroke, and phi, which has an elongated upper loop that inclines to the left (table 2). The conjunction καὶ sometimes is formed with majuscule kappa, which has elongated oblique strokes that incorporate alpha and iota (table 3). And when a tachygraphic abbreviation for καὶ occurs on the last line of a page, it sometimes ends with a flourish (fig. 6). Similar forms of καὶ are often found in manuscripts executed in the second half of the eleventh century, especially in its last quarter—for example, in lectionaries New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MSS M.639, M.647, and a cruciform lectionary M.692; and in another Dumbarton Oaks manuscript, DO MS 3 (Psalter and New Testament, dated ca. 1084).<sup>11</sup>

The script of DO MS 5 is closely related to that of many gospel manuscripts and lectionaries produced in Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century, especially in its last quarter. Some of these manuscripts are exceptionally luxurious books—for example, Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 57 (Tetraevangelion); London, British Library, Add. 39603 (a cruciform lectionary); the above-mentioned Morgan lectionaries M.639 and M.692; Mount Athos, Chilandar Monastery, cod. 105 (the lectionary is written entirely in gold ink over carmine

11 On the Morgan codices M.639 and M.647, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part IV.1, The Morgan Library and Museum,” *Manuscripta* 52, no. 1 (2008): 65–174, esp. 148–67 (with previous bibliography) and figs. 8 and 9. On codex M.692, see J. C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park, PA, 1992). Anderson attributed Morgan MS M. 692 to the twelfth century, but many scholars, including the present author, attributed this codex to the last quarter of the eleventh century. See the review by M.-L. Dolezal of Anderson’s book in *Speculum* 69 (1994): 731–33; I. Hutter, “Le Copiste du Métaphraste: On a Center for Manuscript Production in Eleventh Century Constantinople,” in *I Manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca* (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato, 3 vols. (Florence, 2000), 2:535–86 esp. 570; Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part IV.2, The Morgan Library and Museum,” *Manuscripta* 52, no. 2 (2008): 207–324, esp. 257–66.

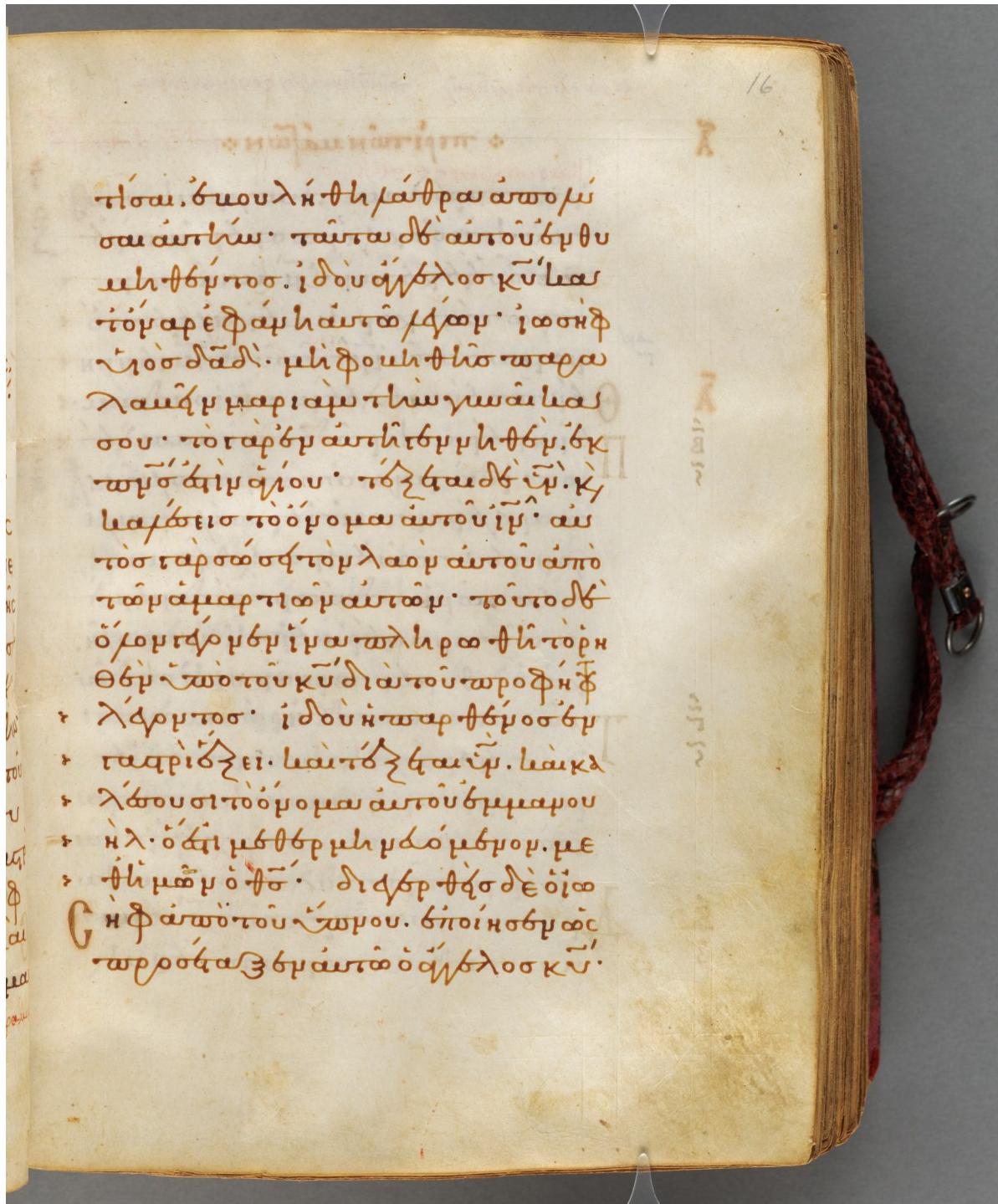


FIG. 4. DO MS 5, fol. 16r (Matthew 1:19–24).

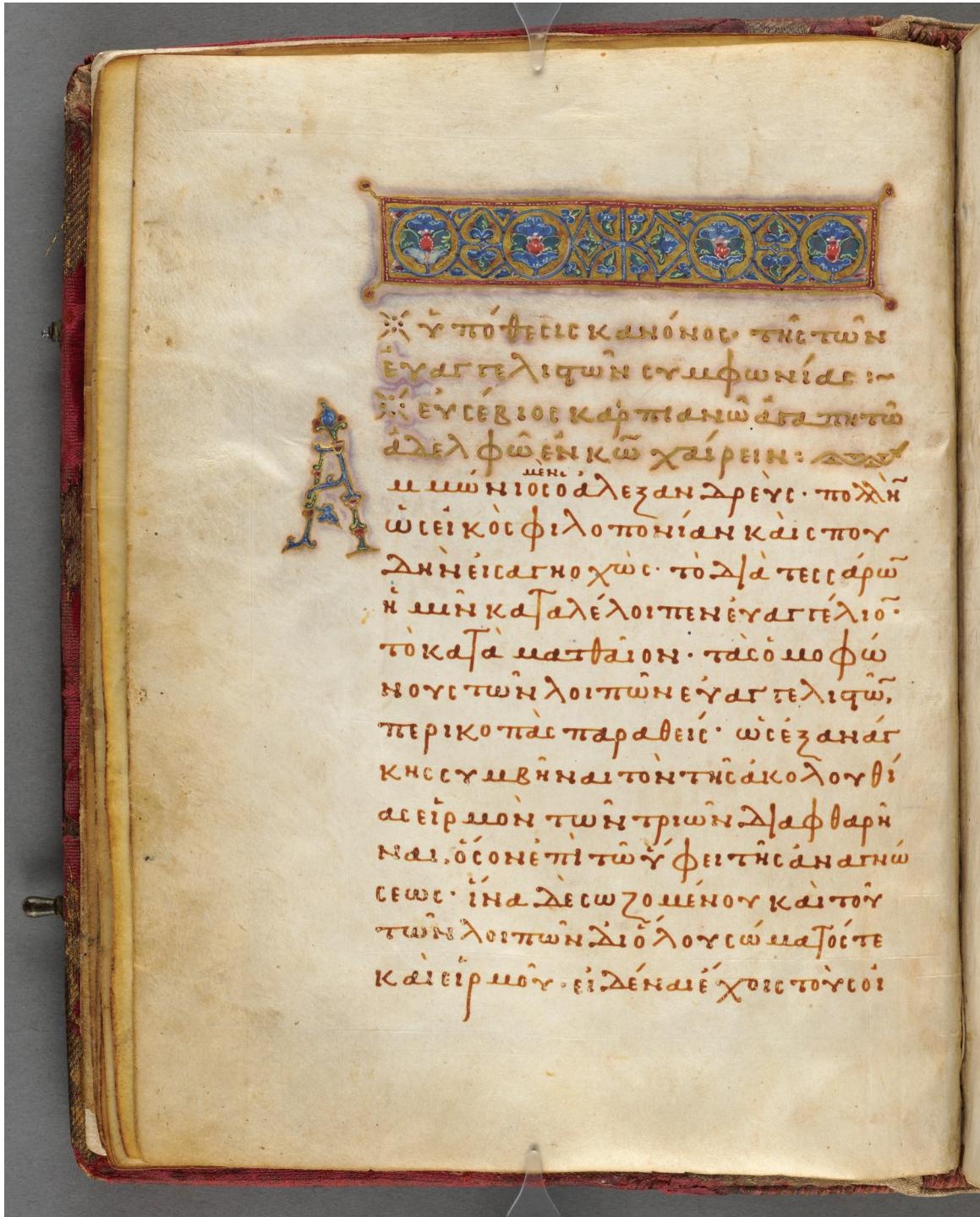


FIG. 5. DO MS 5, fol. 7v, Letter of Eusebios to Karpianos.

Table 2.  
Typical forms of letters in DO MS 5.

	Minuscule	Majuscule
$\alpha$		
$\beta$		
$\gamma$		
$\delta$		
$\epsilon$		
$\zeta$		
$\eta$		
$\theta$		
$\iota$		
$\kappa$		
$\lambda$		
$\mu$		
$\nu$		
$\xi$		none
$\circ$		same
$\pi$		
$\rho$		
$\sigma$		
$\tau$		
$\upsilon$		
$\phi$		
$\chi$		
$\psi$		
$\omega$		none

Table 3.  
Typical forms of ligatures and distinctive combinations of letters in DO MS 5.

$\alpha\zeta$		
$\alpha\xi$		
$\epsilon\iota$		
$\epsilon\kappa$		
$\epsilon\pi$		
$\epsilon\rho$		
$\epsilon\xi$		
$\theta\epsilon$		
$\kappa\alpha$		
$\lambda\theta$		
$\lambda\lambda$		
$\rho\alpha$		
$\rho\epsilon$		
$\rho\circ$		
$\sigma\alpha$		
$\sigma\tau$		
$\tau\circ\upsilon$		
$\tau\tau$		
$\tau\omega$		
$\tau\omega\nu$		
$\chi\alpha\rho\alpha$		

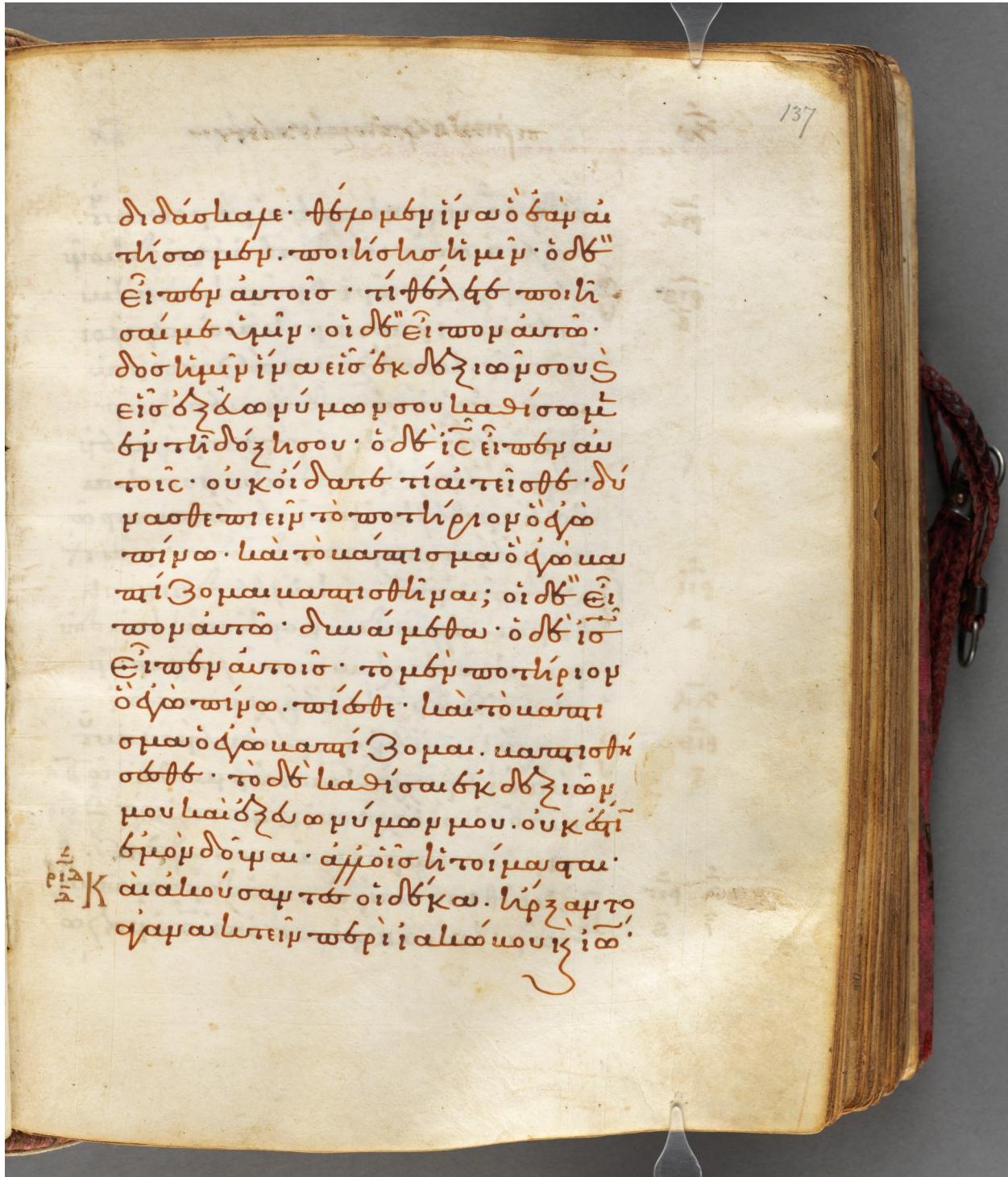


FIG. 6. DO MS 5, fol. 137r (Mark 10:35-41).

ink); Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587 (lectionary); Moscow, State Historical Museum, MSS Synod. gr. 511 (lectionary written entirely in gold ink over carmine ink) and 518 (Vladimir 13; Tetraevangelion); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jaharis Lectionary (acc. no. 2007.286); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 5 (Tetraevangelion).<sup>12</sup> Other manuscripts are slightly below these deluxe manuscripts in quality of execution but nonetheless display highly professional calligraphy and decoration—for example, Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 19 (lectionary); Iveron Monastery, cod. 1404 (a cruciform lectionary), and Panteleimonos Monastery, cod. 2 (lectionary).<sup>13</sup> The

12 The bibliography for these well-known manuscripts is vast and includes important recent publications. On Athens cod. 57, see A. Marava-Chatzinicolao and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1978 and 1992), 2:109–19 and figs. 216–31. On the cruciform lectionaries Add. 39603 and M.692, see Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary*. On Synod. gr. 511, see N. F. Kavrus, “Imperatorskii skriptorii v XI veke,” *VizVrem* 49 (1988): 134–42, esp. 139–40 and fig. 11; A. Zakharova, “Grecheskoe Evangelie-Aprakos Sin. gr. 511 iz GIMA: Istorija, kodikologija, tekst i dekorativnoe oformlenie,” *Khudozhestvennoe nasledie. Khranenie, issledovaniia, restavratsiya* 20 (2003): 7–19; V. G. Putsko, “Konstantinopol’skii ‘Zolotoi Kodeks’ Uspenskogo Sobora Moskovskogo Kremlia,” in *Monfokon: Issledovaniia po paleografi, kodikologii i diplomatiike*, vol. 1 (Moscow and St. Petersburg, 2007): 116–37. On Synod. gr. 518, see O. S. Popova, “Vizantiiskaia rukopis’ (Chetveroevangelie) vtoroi poloviny XI v. v Gosudarstvennom Istoricheskem Muzee (Sin. gr. 518),” in *Vizantiiskie i drevnerusskie miniatiury*, ed. O. S. Popova (Moscow, 2003), 28–44. On Chilandar cod. 105, see S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts. Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1974–1975), 2:387–88 and figs. 416–17; Hutter, “Le Copiste du Métaphraste,” 564–65. On Dionysiou cod. 587, see S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *Oi θησαυροί των Αγίων Όρους: Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1973–91), 1:162–219 and 434–46, figs. 189–277; M.-L. Dolezal, “Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587),” *Word & Image* 12, no. 1 (1996): 23–60. On the Jaharis Lectionary, see J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book* (New Haven, 2009). On Parma cod. 5, see I. A. Oretskaya, “Rukopisi s miniatiurnymi figurami,” in *Vizantiiskaia miniatiura vtoroi poloviny X – nachala XII veka*, ed. O. S. Popova, A. V. Zakharova, and I. A. Oretskaya (Moscow, 2012), 332–423, esp. 402–22 and figs. 368–80.

13 On Esphigmenou cod. 19, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oi θησαυροί των Αγίων Όρους*, 2:390–91 and figs. 409–15. On Iveron cod. 1404, see Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary*, figs. 48–51; Pelekanidis et al., *Oi θησαυροί των Αγίων Όρους*, 2:347 and figs. 268–71; and G. Galavaris, *Holy Monastery of Iveron: The Illuminated Manuscripts* (Mount Athos, 2000), 42–43 and fig. 27. On Panteleimonos cod. 2,

liturgical Perlschrift of all of these manuscripts is very similar, and some of the manuscripts were probably executed by the same scribe.<sup>14</sup>

The scribe of DO MS 5 very probably received calligraphic training similar to that of the scribes of the above-mentioned manuscripts, which were most likely executed in Constantinople because of their exceptional quality of execution and lavish decoration. We know very little about the work of Byzantine scribes and artisans, the division of labor between scribes and illuminators, and especially the organization and operations of Byzantine ergasteria—workplaces where exceptionally talented scribes and illuminators produced deluxe and high-quality manuscripts for wealthy patrons and for major churches and monasteries. The existence of a large ergasterion in eleventh-century Constantinople was first hypothesized by Irmgard Hutter, who identified teams of scribes and illuminators specializing in the production of Metaphrastian menologia, homiletic works, psalters, tetraevangelia, and lectionaries. Hutter defined periods of this ergasterion’s activity as early, mature, and final.<sup>15</sup> I agree with Hutter that such an ergasterion probably existed and was an artisanal enterprise, not a monastic community. But more evidence is needed to corroborate and elaborate this insightful hypothesis.

Paleographic evidence points to the second half of the eleventh century, especially its last quarter, as the most likely period of the execution of DO MS 5, and the early twelfth century cannot be excluded (some manuscripts dated 1100–1105 display a kind of controlled calligraphic liturgical Perlschrift—for example, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS gr. 3, a psalter<sup>16</sup>). And some scribes had

see S. Kadas, *To Eikonoγrapheμένο χειρόγραφο Αρ. 2 της Μονής Αγίου Παντελέμονος (Άγιον Όρος): Συμβολή στη μελέτη των βυζαντινών εναγγελιών / The Illuminated Manuscript No. 2 of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon (Mount Athos): Contribution to the Study of Byzantine Lectionaries. Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα / Byzantine Monuments* 12 (Thessalonike, 2001).

14 For example, Athens cod. 57 and Moscow Synod. gr. 518 were almost certainly executed by the same scribe: Popova, “Vizantiiskaia rukopis’,” 32. Also, the three cruciform lectionaries were probably copied by the same scribe. And Chilandar cod. 105 was probably executed by the same copyist-chrysographer as Synod. gr. 511.

15 Hutter, “Le Copiste du Métaphraste,” 551, 559, 561, 570–74.

16 On the Houghton MS gr. 3, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part V.1, Harvard

long careers with little change in their handwriting—for example, Theodore Hagiopetrates, whose scribal career spanned thirty years, and Ioasaph II of the Hodegon Monastery, whose scribal career spanned more than forty years.<sup>17</sup> But Perlschrift was rapidly losing its appeal in the first quarter of the twelfth century, as new writing styles were being developed in Constantinople and were being disseminated throughout the Byzantine Empire.<sup>18</sup> Although Perlschrift was used in the first half of the twelfth century in the provinces of Byzantium, the provincial Perlschrift lacked the precision and professionalism of Constantinopolitan calligraphy. On Mount Athos in 1133, for example, an anonymous scribe copied a gospel manuscript in a script that poorly imitated eleventh-century Perlschrift (New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M.748).<sup>19</sup>

## Decoration

DO MS 5 is illuminated with a complete set of ten canon tables (fols. 1v–6r); five full-page miniatures: Christ Enthroned (fol. 12v) and the evangelists Matthew (fol. 13v), Mark (fol. 102v), Luke (fol. 161v), and John (fol. 256v); and five headpieces with decorated initials (fols. 7v, 14r, 103r, 162r, and 257r).

### *Canon Tables*

The ten canon tables are elaborately and exuberantly decorated. They form five pairs: fols. 1v–2r, 2v–3r,

University, The Houghton Library,” *Manuscripta* 54, no. 1 (2010): 64–151, esp. 85–102 and figs. 3–4; J. C. Anderson and S. Parenti, *A Byzantine Monastic Office, A.D. 1105* (Washington, DC, 2016).

17 On Theodore Hagiopetrates, see R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrates. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1991). On Ioasaph II, see L. Politis, “Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὄδηγῶν,” *BZ* 51 (1958): 17–36 and 262–87 and idem, “Quelques centres de copie monastiques du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine: Colloque international sur la paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 291–95.

18 See P. Canart and L. Perria, “Les écritures livresques des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfsbüttel 17–21 ottobre 1983)*, ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato with M. D’Agostino and A. Doda, 2 vols. (Alexandria, 1991), 1:67–116 and 2:53–68; repr. in P. Canart, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, 2 vols., *Studi e Testi* 450 (Vatican City, 2008), 2:933–1000.

19 On codex M.748, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Two Solar Eclipses and the Date and Localization of the Kerasous Gospels from the Pierpont Morgan Library,” *Nea Rhome* 5 (2008): 193–207 and eadem, “Catalogue IV.2” (n. 3 above), esp. 286–87 and fig. 10.

3v–4r, 4v–5r, and 5v–6r, and the tables in each pair have an almost identical design that differs from the other pairs. But the entire set coheres in a complex composition with a diverse vocabulary of forms. Each canon table has a large top rectangle, which rests on a narrow epistyle supported by two narrow columns, and, in the first two canon tables, the epistyle rests on knotted columns. The perfectly round knots were drawn with a compass, which left behind small punctures (fig. 7). The columns have Corinthian capitals and rest on bases, which repeat the design of the capital or are conical with concentric circles. Most bases are supported by narrow green or blue plinths, and the entire construction rests on a narrow baseline, which is ornamented with patterns identical to those of the epistyle. Each top rectangle is divided into rectangular (on fols. 1v–2r) or concentric semi-circle subfields, which are filled with exuberant vegetal and flower-petal ornaments. On fols. 3v and 4r, five birds are depicted in one of the subfields (fig. 8).

The distinctive ornamental motifs of the decoration of the canon tables include flowers on thin and tall stems, which rise from large curly acanthus leaves. These “fleshy acanthus leaves” (as Nancy Ševčenko aptly described them<sup>20</sup>) are placed on both sides of the epistyle and base and are painted green (fols. 1v–2r) or red and blue (figs. 7–10). The flower stems span the entire length of the columns and top rectangle. On the top of the entire construction are fountains or water vessels or basins flanked with sheep (on fols. 1v and 2r) or different kinds of birds (including ducks, geese, partridges, and peacocks). The sheep are pictured grazing grass amid small flowers. On fols. 2v and 3r, small jeweled crowns are suspended from the sides of the epistles, and small crosses (on fol. 2v) or small birds (on fol. 3r) dangle from the crowns (fig. 9). On fols. 4v and 5r, flame-like red spikes sprout from bowl-shaped buds and are speckled with tiny white dots (fig. 10). On fols. 5v and 6r, tall narrow candlesticks with burning candles rise from the epistyle and base (fig. 11).

Some of these decorations are found throughout the eleventh century. For example, similar candlesticks and candles are found in the first quarter of the century, in codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

20 S. Kotzabassi and N. Patterson Ševčenko, with the collaboration of D. C. Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, 2010), 13.



FIG. 7. DO MS 5, fol. 2r, canon table I.



FIG. 8. DO MS 5, fol. 4r, canon table V.



FIG. 9. DO MS 5, fol. 3r, canon table II.



FIG. 10. DO MS 5, fol. 5r, canon tables VII and VIII.

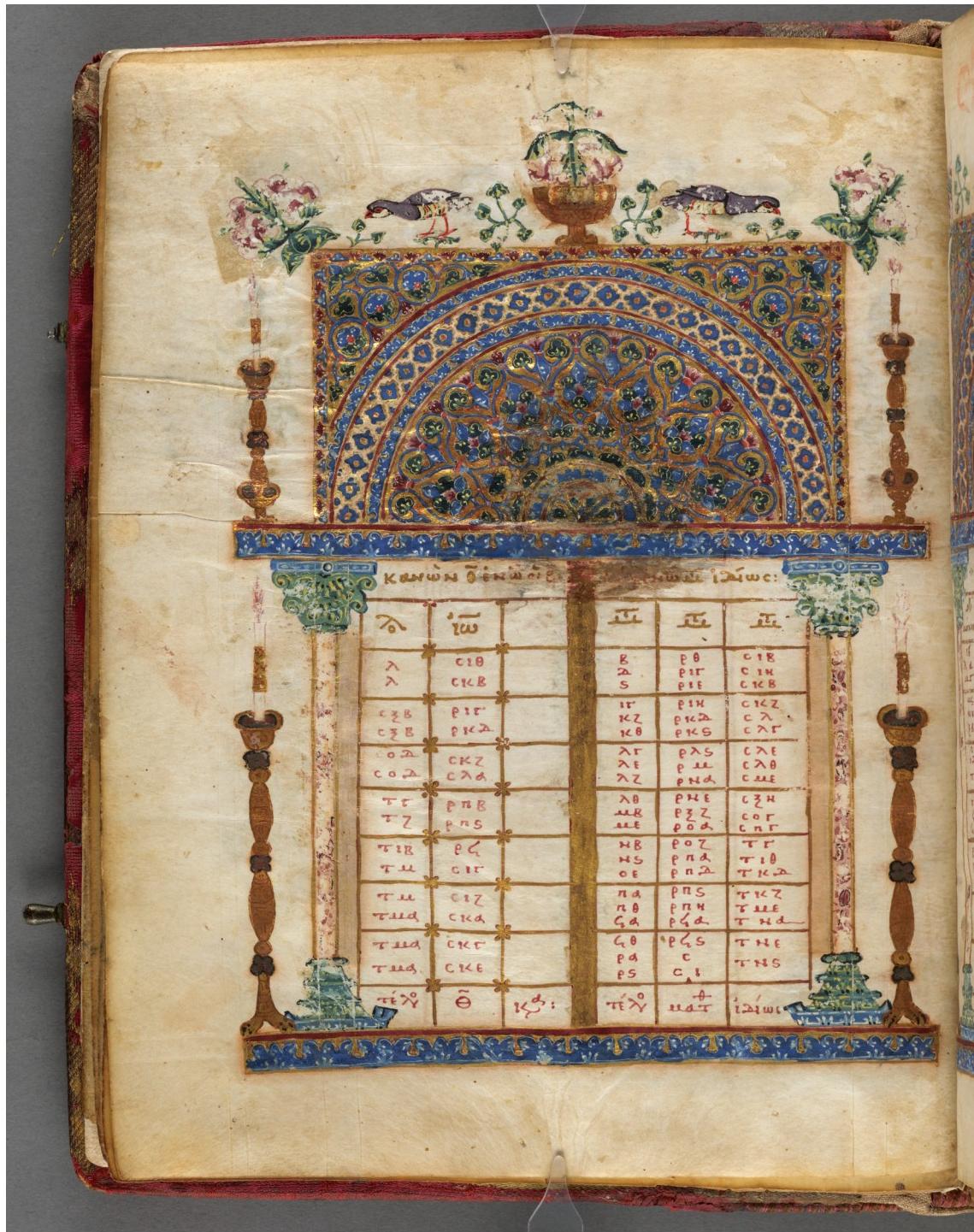


FIG. II. DO MS 5, fol. 5v, canon tables IX and X.

(BAV hereafter), Vat. gr. 1613, a famous menologion of Basil II executed in Constantinople.<sup>21</sup> But this set of decorative features was especially popular in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and virtually identical and very similar features are found in the canon tables of several gospel manuscripts: Jerusalem, the Library of Patriarchate, cod. Taphou 60;<sup>22</sup> Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 588μ, Iveron Monastery, cod. 2, and Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 960;<sup>23</sup> Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett MS 2 and the Scheide Library, Scheide M 70;<sup>24</sup> Tirana, National Archives of Tirana, MS Beratinus 4 and MS Vlorë 5.<sup>25</sup>

21 See facsimile of the Vatican Menologion: *El “Menologio” de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio* (Vat. gr. 1613), Codices e Vaticanis selecti, Series maior 64 (Madrid, 2005), 284 and 303 and A. V. Zakharova, “Minologii Vasilia II (Vat. gr. 1613),” in Popova, Zakharova, and Oretskaya, *Vizantiiskaia miniatiura* (n. 12 above), 145–206, esp. 161, fig. 118. See also *El “Menologio de Basilio II”*: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613; *Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición del facsímil*, ed. F. D’Aiuto and I. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2008).

22 P. L. Vocopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Athens and Jerusalem, 2002), 54–57, figs. 20–23.

23 On Dionysiou 588μ and Iveron 2, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Όποις* (n. 12 above), 1: figs. 278–80 and 2: figs. 7 and 8 respectively. On Vatopedi 960, see I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts: To the Year 1453*, 2 vols., Byzantina Neerlandica 8 (Leiden, 1981), 1:78, cat. no. 320 and figs. 560–61. On Dionysiou 588μ, see also F. D’Aiuto, “Un nuovo manoscritto miniatuado appartenuto a Manuele Angelo: L’Athous Dionys. 588μ,” in *L’officina dello sguardo: Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro*, ed. G. Bordi et al., 2 vols. (Rome, 2014), 397–410.

24 Kotzabassi and Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, 7–18, 210–17 and figs. 14–23, 226–35 respectively. Francesco D’Aiuto argued that the canon tables in Scheide M 70, Dionysiou 588μ, and Iveron 2 were executed by the same artist: *I Vangeli dei Popoli: La Parola e l’immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, ed. F. D’Aiuto, G. Morello, and A. M. Piazzoni (Vatican City, 2000), 243–44, cat. no. 53. See also A. L. Saminskii, “Garvardskaia rukopis’ grecheskogo chetveroevangelia i eio krug,” in *Putiom ornamenta: Issledovaniia po iskusstvu Vizantiiskogo mira*, ed. A. L. Saminskii, Trudy Tsentral’nogo Muzeia Drevnerusskoi Kultury i Iskusstva, 7 (Moscow, 2013), 146–73, esp. 152–54 and n. 43. Saminskii disagrees with D’Aiuto’s identification. Indeed, canon tables of Scheide M 70 are cruder than those in Dionysiou 588μ and were probably executed by an apprentice who copied his master’s work. But Saminskii’s attempt to build a chronological timeline for Scheide M 70, Dionysiou 588μ, Iveron 2, and Vat. gr. 358 lacks paleographic analysis and is not convincing.

25 A. Džurova, *Manuscrits grecs enluminés des Archives Nationales de Tirana (VI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles): Études choisies*, Scriptorium Balcanicum, 2 vols. (Sofia, 2011), 1:129–40 and 2:146–71, pls. 88–102.

Some of the above-mentioned ornamental motifs, such as fleshy acanthus leaves and flame-like red spikes, are found in the decoration of lectionaries—for example, in the splendid lectionary Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1156 (attributed to the last quarter of the eleventh century) and in two cruciform lectionaries (Morgan MS M.692 and Iveron, cod. 1404).<sup>26</sup> Also, very similar fountains are found on top of the canon tables of DO MS 5 and in the lectionary of Esphigmenou, cod. 19, which includes headpieces with cruciform and quatrefoil basins on top (table 4).<sup>27</sup> And virtually identical in these two manuscripts are the strutting peacocks, with blue necks and breasts, golden tails, and small golden crests in the shape of a bird’s footprint (table 4).<sup>28</sup> The same artist quite probably executed these distinctive fountains and peacocks. Table 4 illustrates strikingly similar decorations in the above-mentioned manuscripts.

The decorative motifs of the canon tables of DO MS 5 and other related manuscripts also resemble those in canon tables of several Armenian and Georgian gospel manuscripts produced in the eleventh century, such as the Trebizond Gospels (Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of Mekhitarist Brotherhood, MS 1400/108);<sup>29</sup> Gospel of King Gagik of Kars (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2556);<sup>30</sup> Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS 10434 (dated 1069);<sup>31</sup> Vat. iber. 1;<sup>32</sup> Mestia (Georgia),

26 See, for example, O. S. Popova, “Obrazy i stil’ vizantiiskogo iskusstva vtoroi poloviny X–XI vekov po miniatiuram grecheskikh rukopisei,” in Popova, Zakharova, and Oretskaya, *Vizantiiskaia miniatiura*, 9–111, esp. 96 and fig. 68; Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary* (n. 11 above), figs. 16, 48, 49, and 51.

27 Cf., for example, the cruciform fountain on fig. 7 and in Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Όποις*, 2: fig. 414; cf. also fountains in idem, 2: figs. 413 and 415 and on fol. 2v, 3r and 3v in DO MS 5.

28 Cf. peacocks on fol. 3v in DO MS 5 and in Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Όποις*, 2: fig. 413.

29 See M. Chanashean, *Armenian Miniature Paintings of the Monastic Library at San Lazzaro* (Venice, 1966), pls. XII–XVIII; T. A. Izmailova, *Armianskaia miniatiura XI veka* (Moscow, 1979), 182–204 and figs. 122–27; Z. Akopian, “Trapezundskoe armianskoe evangeliye v kontekste vizantiiskogo iskusstva,” in *Obraz Vizantii: Sbornik statei v chrest’ O.S. Popovoi*, ed. A. V. Zakharova (Moscow, 2008), 29–46 with figs.; Z. Akopian, “Voprosy datirovki i lokalizatsii Trapezundskogo Evangelia,” *AN Armenii, Vestnik obshchestvennykh nauk* 1 (618) (2007): 134–46.

30 See Izmailova, *Armianskaia miniatiura*, 204–8 and figs. 130–37.

31 See idem, 208 and figs. 141–43.

32 See F. D’Aiuto, “Libro, scrittura e miniatura fra Bisanzio e il Caucaso: Qualche riflessione,” in *Scrittura e libro nel mondo greco-*

Table 4.

Comparison of decorative elements in DO MS 5 and related manuscripts.

Type	DO MS 5	Comparanda				
Floral A						
Floral B						
Crowns and lamps	 fol. 3r	 fol. 2v				
Peacock pairs						
Cruciform water basin						

Museum of Mestia, Tetraevangelion (dated 1030);<sup>33</sup> and Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, MS A-484 (the Lectionary of Alaverd, dated 1054 and executed in the Antioch region).<sup>34</sup> The decorative motifs of these manuscripts include large acanthus leaves, exotic flowers, dangling crowns or lamps, and candlesticks with burning candles. Scholars have identified a “Byzantine style” in these and other Armenian and Georgian manuscripts, and Constantinopolitan motifs evidently influenced Armenian and Georgian manuscript decoration.<sup>35</sup> Further research is needed to understand the sources and significance of the similarities in the decoration of the above-mentioned Byzantine, Armenian, and Georgian manuscripts. There was a large Armenian community in Constantinople, and its prosperous and influential members may have commissioned “Byzantine style” manuscripts.<sup>36</sup>

The above-mentioned decorative motifs are not a new development in Byzantine illumination and can be found in earlier manuscripts, including manuscripts in languages other than Greek. Decorative motifs traveled throughout the Byzantine Empire, and illuminators borrowed and adapted elements of decoration from one another and from model manuscripts. For example, exotic flowers and fleshy acanthus leaves are found in the Rabbula Gospels, a famous Syriac manuscript of the

bizantino: *Atti del corso Ravello, Villa Rufolo, 6–9 Novembre 2007*, ed. C. Caselli Brach, *Il futuro del passato 4* (Ravello, 2012), 77–108, fig. 23.

33 On the Mestia Gospels, see R. Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI vv.*, 2 vols. (Tbilisi, 1979), 2:133–39 and figs. 38–40.

34 On the Lectionary of Alaverd, see *ibid.*, 2:147–50 and figs. 41–44; A. L. Saminskii, “Gruzinskie i grecheskie rukopisi tret’ei chetverti XI v. iz oblasti Antiokhii/Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from the Region of Antioch (1050’s–1070’s),” in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Iskusstvo rukopisnoi knigi. Vizantia. Drevniaia Rus’* (St. Petersburg, 2004), 131–32; and *idem*, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch,” in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. 1, *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in May 2003*, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Leuven, 2006), 17–78; D’Aiuto, “Libro, scrittura e miniatore fra Bisanzio e il Caucaso,” 91–92. The Alaverd Lectionary and the closely related Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, gr. 158 were produced in the Black Mountain Monastery of the Antioch region.

35 Izmailova, *Armianskaia miniatiura* (n. 29 above), 182–214; Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie*, 137 and 149.

36 A. Kazhdan, *Armiane v sostave gospodstvuyushchego klassa vizantiiskoi imperii* (Moscow, 1976).

sixth century (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56).<sup>37</sup>

### *The Letter of Eusebios*

The letter of Eusebios to Karpianos (fols. 7v–9r) opens with a narrow rectangular headpiece (115 × 20 mm) and an ornamented initial alpha (fig. 5). The headpiece has a narrow red border and gold background. The field is decorated with flowers in circles and a flower-petal motif (*Blütenblattstil*). Small round finials are attached to the corners with short lines; the finials are outlined with gold and are filled with red pigment. The initial alpha is ornamented with a flower-petal motif.

### *Miniatures*

The miniatures of the Christ Enthroned and the evangelist Matthew were painted on a bifolium, which was folded with the hair side on the outside (fols. 12r–13v). To make both Christ and Matthew face the beginning of the gospel—a tradition in Greek manuscripts—the miniature of Christ was painted on the flesh side of the bifolium (fol. 12v) and the portrait of Matthew on the hair side (fol. 13v). Because the flesh side of parchment has a smoother surface than the hair side and does not retain pigments as well, the miniature of Christ suffered significant flaking. Christ’s face and tunic were especially affected by flaking, but not his himation, which was probably painted with more stable pigment. The deep blue pigment of the himation might have been made with expensive indigo dye or lapis lazuli.<sup>38</sup> The miniatures of Mark and Luke were painted on inserted folios on the hair side of the parchment. The miniature of John was painted on the verso of the second folio of a bifolium, which was folded with the hair side on the outside. The five miniatures are certainly contemporaneous with the manuscript, because they were painted

37 On the Rabbula Gospels, see *Il tetravangelo di Rabbula Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56: L’illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, ed. M. Bernabò (Rome, 2008), esp. pls. XVI–XIX and XXIV.

38 Chemical analysis is needed to determine the exact composition of the pigments and their stability. But some pigments flake more than others—for example, in Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2804 (a lectionary attributed to the second half of the eleventh century) the miniature of the evangelist Luke also suffered uneven flaking: the indigo-blue tunic of the evangelist is almost intact, but the light green himation is almost entirely flaked (see Marava-Chatzinicolou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue* [n. 12 above], 1:88–95 and fig. 164).

on parchment folios with the same ruling pattern as the entire manuscript.

### *Christ Enthroned*

A full-page miniature of Christ Enthroned is on fol. 12v (fig. 12). The miniature measures 190 × 137 mm; it has a narrow (4 mm) frame outlined in gold with small round finials attached to the frame with a short line; the finials are also outlined with gold and are filled with blue pigment. The frame is painted blue and is ornamented with a white zigzag crenellated line and small red t-shaped patterns. The background of the miniature is gold. Christ is pictured seated en face on a tall (60 mm) backless red throne covered with a red cushion. The throne is decorated with a vermiculation pattern executed in gold, and the cushion is decorated with two pairs of golden stripes with a vermiculation pattern and tassels at the ends. The figure of Christ is draped with an indigo-blue himation. Christ is holding a gospel book in his left hand, and the book cover is gold with jewels and has a red spine. Christ's face, tunic, right blessing arm, and feet, as well as parts of the throne, are extensively flaked. The preliminary underdrawing of the folds of the tunic is visible, but not the underdrawing of the face. Christ's feet are set on a dark blue cushion placed on a podium, and the cushion is decorated with a greenish lattice and arrow design. A halo and inner cross are outlined with a thin red line on a gold background, and the cross is decorated with jewels.

Gospel manuscripts illuminated with miniatures typically have portraits of the four evangelists. The presence of an additional full-page miniature of Christ Enthroned in a gospel manuscript is rare and indicates a very special commission. A few gospel manuscripts and lectionaries from different periods have full-page miniatures of a standing Christ Pantokrator, such as Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756, a Tetraevangelion attributed to the eleventh or twelfth century;<sup>39</sup> Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2645 (fol. 166v), a lectionary attributed to the eleventh century;<sup>40</sup> and Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, gr. 204, a

39 D'Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli* (n. 24 above), 248–52 and fig. 55; O. S. Popova, “Chetveroevangelie cod. 57 iz Afinskoi Natsional'noi Biblioteki,” in Popova, Zakharova, and Oretskaya, *Vizantiiskaia miniatiura* (n. 12 above), 264–305, esp. 301, fig. 261.

40 Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, 1:142 and fig. 318.

lectionary executed ca. 1000.<sup>41</sup> And a bust of Christ Pantokrator is sometimes pictured inside a medallion in a headpiece—for example, in codex Moscow, GIM, Synod. 518, a Tetraevangelion attributed to the last quarter of the eleventh century, and in a one-folio fragment from codex Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, DO MS 3, Psalter and New Testament executed ca. 1084 (the fragment is in Moscow, State Tretiakov Gallery, inv. no. 2580).<sup>42</sup>

Nonetheless, one rarely finds a full-page miniature of Christ Enthroned in Byzantine manuscript illumination. For example, the figure of Christ Enthroned is a part of the Deesis in two lectionaries—the above-mentioned Athens codex 2645 (fol. 1r) and Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, gr. 208, which has been attributed to the twelfth century.<sup>43</sup> This codex should be reattributed to the last quarter of the eleventh century, however, because of the scribe's distinctive liturgical Perlschrift. The elaborate details on the thrones in Sinait. gr. 208 and in DO MS 5 are very similar, even though the throne in Sinait. gr. 208 is not as monumental and ornamental as the throne in DO MS 5. Another full-page miniature of Christ Enthroned is in codex Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 666 (*Panoplia Dogmatike*, a book on heresies composed probably at the beginning of the twelfth century by Euthymios Zygabenos for Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who ruled from 1081 to 1118).<sup>44</sup> This miniature depicts the emperor standing on the left of Christ Enthroned and holding a partially

41 K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1990), 42–47 and color plate III.

42 A. Cutler, “The Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament: The Iconography of the Moscow Leaf,” *DOP* 37 (1983): 35–45 (repr. in *idem, Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, Collected Studies Series CS 358 (Aldershot, 1992, VIII); Popova, “Vizantiiskaia rukopis’ (Chetveroevangelie)” (n. 12 above), pl. III, figs. 34 and 45; eadem, “Chetveroevangelie cod. 57.” 296–97, figs. 256 and 257).

43 Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*, 166–70 and color plate XXVII.

44 See the miniature in V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi* (Moscow, 1986), 2: fig. 257. On Vat. gr. 666, see P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, “The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982): 123–83, esp. 149–51; J. C. Anderson, “The Illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art,” *Viator* 22 (1991): 69–120, fig. 13; I. Spatharakis, “Three Portraits of the Early Comnenian Period,” in *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 1996), 18–40, esp. 28–32.



FIG. 12. DO MS 5, fol. 12v, Christ Enthroned.

open book, *Panoplia Dogmatike*. But to the best of my knowledge, Christ Enthroned unaccompanied by other figures is a unique feature of DO MS 5.

### *The Evangelists*

The four evangelists are portrayed seated in front of their desks, and their feet rest on low, flat stools. The background is gold without buildings of any kind. The furniture is painted rather sloppily, unlike that in many deluxe manuscripts of the period.

The miniature of the evangelist Matthew on fol. 13v (fig. 13) measures 177 × 128 mm and has a narrow frame outlined with bright red ink; the same small round finials found in the Christ miniature are attached to the corners of the frame; the finials are outlined with red ink and filled with blue pigment. The frame has a gold background and is ornamented with a white zigzag crenellated line and small blue t-shaped patterns. The tunic of the evangelist is light blue, and the himation is pale lavender. The pigments on the face, hands, feet, and other parts of the body, as well as on the desk, are extensively flaked, and the face has sustained the most damage.

The miniature of the evangelist Mark on fol. 102v (fig. 14) measures 176 × 128 mm and has exactly the same frame, finials, and gold background as Matthew's, and the furniture and the evangelist's pose are very similar in both miniatures. Mark's tunic is light blue, his himation is strawberry-pink, and his feet are awkwardly positioned, with one foot behind the stool. The face of the evangelist is extensively flaked, and the underdrawing is partially visible. On the lectern, the model gospel manuscript is supported by a pillar in the shape of bended arms and hands with interlocked fingers, which clasp the post of the shelf holding the book—an uncommon detail.

The miniature of the evangelist Luke on fol. 161v (fig. 15) measures 176 × 128 mm and has exactly the same frame, finials, and gold background as Matthew's and has very similar furniture. Luke's tunic is light blue, and his himation is light green. Luke is seated on a cushion, leaning forward on a chair that does not have a back. Luke is the only evangelist who is pictured actually writing rather than dipping his pen in the inkpot (as did Matthew), adjusting the model manuscript (as did Mark), or contemplating (as did John). The face and neck of Luke and the front of the desk are extensively flaked. The preliminary underdrawing of the face and neck is partially visible.

The miniature of the evangelist John on fol. 256v (fig. 16) measures 175 × 130 mm and is the best preserved of the four evangelists, even though the lower part of his face is flaked. The miniature has exactly the same frame, finials, and gold background as the other three, but the chair is different. It is made out of wicker, and looks much sturdier. John's tunic is light blue, and his himation is white. The stool does not have legs and looks more like a platform. And the painter obviously had difficulty with the positioning of the evangelist's feet, which are in an awkward position.

Many eleventh-century gospel manuscripts and lectionaries have portraits of the evangelists that are similar to those in DO MS 5 in composition, body and face rendering, himation folds, and palette. But smaller details enabled me to identify several manuscripts that are especially closely related to DO MS 5. For example, the miniatures of DO MS 5 have distinctive narrow frames (blue in the Christ's miniature and gold in the evangelists' miniatures), which are filled with a thin zig-zag crenellated line and small red t-shaped patterns, as well as peculiar small round finials filled with blue or red pigments, outlined with gold, and attached to the corners with a short thin line. Notably, the identical or almost identical frames and finials are found in Mount Athos, Pantaleimonos Monastery, cod. 2;<sup>45</sup> Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 949 (copied by the monk Ephraim and dated 947/48; the miniatures are not original and were inserted in the manuscript in the eleventh century);<sup>46</sup>

45 Kadas, *To Eικονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο Αρ. 2* (n. 13 above), figs. 1 and 4–6; Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίου Όρους* (n. 12 above), 2: figs. 274–76.

46 The colophon of Vatopedi 949 is not original but obviously a copy of the original: A. Diller, "Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century," *TAPA* 77 (1947): 184–88, esp. 186, repr. in *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1983), no. 31. The handwriting of the Vatopedi 949 is identical with three other manuscripts executed and signed by Ephraim: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 12.4 (*Polybius's Histories*) copied in 947; Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. 201 (*Aristotle's Organon*) copied in 954; and Mt. Athos, Great Lavra, B 64 (*Praxapostolos*), not dated. Jean Irigoin first suggested that the miniatures in Vatopedi 949 were inserted at some later date: J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium* 13, no. 2 (1959): 177–209, esp. 194; see also K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1934–45), 3: pl. 153; Spatharakis, *Corpus* (n. 23 above), 1:11, cat. no. 9 and 2: figs 24–25; Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίου Όρους*, 4:152, figs. 283–84; S. Kadas, "The Illustrated Manuscripts," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition–History–Art*, 2 vols. (Mount Athos, 1998), 2:575–97, esp. 577 and fig. 521.



FIG. 13. DO MS 5, fol. 13v, the evangelist Matthew.



FIG. 14. DO MS 5, fol. 102v, the evangelist Mark.



FIG. 15. DO MS 5, fol. 161v, the evangelist Luke.



FIG. 16. DO MS 5, fol. 256v, the evangelist John.

and Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 19;<sup>47</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Muz. II. 10 (a one-folio fragment with a full-page miniature of the evangelist Matthew);<sup>48</sup> New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.692,<sup>49</sup> and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 189.<sup>50</sup> The identical frame is also found in a headpiece of a cruciform lectionary, Iveron cod. 1404, which does not have miniatures.<sup>51</sup>

### *Gospel Headpieces and Initials*

Each gospel in DO MS 5 opens with a headpiece and a decorated initial. The headpiece of the first gospel on fol. 14r is almost square and is the largest and most elaborate, as was common in gospel manuscripts (fig. 17). The headpiece measures 118 × 114 mm and occupies more than a half of the surface reserved for the script. The narrow frame is filled with elegant crenellated rhombus-shaped patterns. The field is filled with vegetal/flower/petal designs. In the upper corners are two elaborate finials of palmettes, with leaves and small round finials similar to those of the miniatures, but without a connecting line. On the top, there is a meadow of small flowers on short stems and two partridges flanking a fountain. On the bottom right side of the headpiece, the lower line of the frame is extended to the right and ends with a small oval-shaped finial. From this line rises a narrow and tall golden tree. The inner blank field is reserved for the title and is formed as a square incorporated into a quatrefoil. The inner field has a frame with the same crenellated rhombus-shaped patterns as the outer frame. A similar inner field is found in the above-mentioned Panteleemon MS 2.<sup>52</sup>

47 Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Ὁροντος*, 2: figs. 409–12.

48 L. I. Lifshits, “Novyi pamiatnik vizantiiskoi knizhnoi miniatyury XII v: The 12th Century Unknown Byzantine Miniature,” in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Iskusstvo rukopisnoi knigi; Vizantia; Drevniaia Rus’* (St. Petersburg, 2004), 164–72, esp. 165.

49 Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary* (n. 11 above), fig. 20.

50 Ibid., fig. 55; Popova, “Obrazy i stil” (n. 26 above), 88–89, figs.

64 and 65; J. Lowden, “Some Forged Byzantine Miniatures,” in *Θυμάτα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1994), 1:165–67 and 2:88–94, figs. 1–6. Jeffrey Anderson noted the close similarity among the miniatures in MS M.692, Paris, gr. 189, and Panteleimonos cod. 2 and suggested that these manuscripts were executed in the same ergasterion by the same artist(s): Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 93–97.

51 Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Ὁροντος*, 2: fig. 269.

52 Kadas, *To Eικονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο Αρ. 2* (n. 17 above), fig. 34.

The headpieces of the other three gospels are rectangular, with rectangular inner fields for the titles. The measurements of the headpieces are: Mark (fol. 103r), 130 × 65 mm with inner field 83 × 21 mm; Luke (fol. 162r), 130 × 66 mm with inner field 88 × 26 mm; John (fol. 257r), 132 × 69 mm with inner field 90 × 28 mm. These three headpieces are ornamented with the same vegetal/flower/petal motif as Matthew’s. The palette of the entire decoration is blue (dark and light), green (dark and light), red (dark magenta and rose-pink), lavender, brown, ocher, and white. Liquid gold was applied liberally.

The vegetal/flower/petal ornamental motifs of DO MS 5 are similar to those of many manuscripts produced in the second half of the eleventh century. One motif is particularly distinctive in the handful of manuscripts whose script and decoration are especially close to those of DO MS 5. This motif features palmettes incorporated into three concentric circles, which are ornamented with small blue or green leaves to form a wreath. This motif is found, for example, inside the π-shaped frames of the first two canon tables of DO MS 5 (fig. 7). Significantly, the identical motif is found in manuscripts I earlier identified as close relatives of DO MS 5: Dionysiou cod. 588μ,<sup>53</sup> Esphigmenou cod. 19,<sup>54</sup> and Iveron cod. 2.<sup>55</sup>

### Parallel Manuscripts

I have identified the following Greek manuscripts that are especially closely related to DO MS 5 in script and/or decoration:

Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 152, inserted fragments (*Tetraevangelion*).<sup>56</sup>

53 Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Ὁροντος*, 1: figs. 278, 280, and 285.

54 Ibid., 2: fig. 413.

55 Ibid., 2: fig. 7.

56 The fragments contain canon tables (fol. 9v and 225r–v) and a portrait of the evangelist Luke (fol. 143v), which were taken from an eleventh-century Gospel manuscript and inserted into the later manuscript. The fragments display the same ornamental motifs as the manuscripts of my group, including fleshy acanthus leaves, tall flowers, and candlesticks with burning candles. And the miniature has finials distinctive to my group. See Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue* (n. 12 above), 2:37–44 and figs. 47–65, esp. figs. 54, 57–59, and 62–64.



FIG. 17. DO MS 5, fol. 14r, headpiece to the gospel of Matthew.

- Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Patriarchate, cod. Taphou 60 (Tetraevangelion).
- Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 588μ (Tetraevangelion).
- Mount Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 19 (Lectionary).
- Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, cod. 2 (Tetraevangelion).
- Mount Athos, Pantaleimonos Monastery, cod. 2 (Lectionary).
- Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 949, portraits of the evangelists only (Tetraevangelion).
- Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 960 (Tetraevangelion), terminus ante quem 1128.<sup>57</sup>
- Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett MS 2 (Tetraevangelion).
- Princeton, Scheide Library, Scheide M 70 (Tetraevangelion).
- Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Muz. II. 10 (one-folio fragment with a full-page miniature of the evangelist Matthew).
- New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.692 (Lectionary).
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 189 (Tetraevangelion).
- Sofia, Center for Slavic and Byzantine Studies “Ivan Dujčev,” Cod. D. gr. 212 (miniatures and canon tables inserted into the fourteenth-century lectionary executed by Ioasaph II in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople).<sup>58</sup>
- Tirana, National Archives of Tirana, MS Beratinus 4 (Tetraevangelion).
- Tirana, National Archives of Tirana, MS Vlorë 5 (Tetraevangelion).

<sup>57</sup> According to the ownership note, in 1128 the manuscript belonged to Ioannes Olontunos, *domestikos* of the Empress Eirene, wife of John II Komnenos; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 3:14–15 and pl. 208; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, 1:78. On the definition of *domestikos*, see ODB 1:646.

<sup>58</sup> A. Dzhurova with P. Canart, *Rayonnement de Byzance: Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles); Catalogue d'exposition, XXII<sup>e</sup> Congrès internationales d'études byzantines, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011* (Sofia, 2011), 127–28 and 135, cat. no. 55.

The features distinctive to all of these manuscripts include:

Same writing style, eleventh-century liturgical Perl-schrift; some of the manuscripts were probably executed by the same scribe(s).

Similar general design and ornamental motifs of canon tables, especially large colorful acanthus leaves, forms and size of flowers, shape of fountains, kinds of birds, crowns dangling from the epistles, and candlesticks with burning candles.

Similar ornamental motifs of headpieces.

Identical or very similar frames and identical finials of the miniatures.

Similar execution of the portraits of the evangelists; some manuscripts were probably painted by the same artist(s).

Similar or identical palette.

These interrelated manuscripts can be linked to several deluxe gospel manuscripts and lectionaries, which were very probably executed in Constantinople in the last quarter of the eleventh century. For example, Iveron cod. 2 has canon tables that display decoration typical in my group of manuscripts, including tall plants rising from the bottom platform, jeweled crowns dangling from the top of the epistles, and concentric circles decorated with small leaves surrounding the palmettes in the top field. But the artist who portrayed the evangelists used models different from those of DO MS 5, Esphigmenou cod. 19, Morgan MS M.692, Pantaleimonos cod. 2, and Vatopedi cod. 949. In Iveron cod. 2, the miniatures have wide frames ornamented with tiny flowers, and the evangelists are seated under red or blue drapes held by a hand attached to the top of the frame and clamped with small lion heads or masks at the corners.<sup>59</sup> The motif of drapes and lion heads or masks was widely used in deluxe manuscripts produced in the last quarter of the eleventh century in Constantinople—for example, in

<sup>59</sup> Pelekanidis et al., *Oι θησαυροί των Αγίων Όρους*, 2: figs. 9 and 10.

Parma cod. 5,<sup>60</sup> Vat. gr. 358,<sup>61</sup> and Vat. gr. 1156.<sup>62</sup> Lion heads or masks were also used in the decoration of canon tables in the splendid Moscow codex Synod. Gr. 518 (Vladimir 13), which was executed by the same scribe and artist as codex Athen. 57.<sup>63</sup> In addition, two manuscripts closely related to DO MS 5 were very probably executed in Constantinople: Vatopedi cod. 949, which was copied by the monk Ephraim in 947/48 and was decorated with miniatures quite likely in the late eleventh century;<sup>64</sup> and Vatopedi cod. 960, which in 1128 was owned by Ioannes Olontunos, *domestikos* of the Empress Eirene.<sup>65</sup> Thus, Constantinople is the most likely place of production of DO MS 5 and other related manuscripts.

## Colophon

A colophon, possibly scribal, was on fol. 326v but is now thoroughly erased and illegible.

## Marginalia, Glossing, and Notes

Chapter titles ( $\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\lambda\omega\iota$ ), Eusebian canon numbers, and Ammonian section numbers were executed by the original scribe in Alexandrian majuscules. They were executed in gold over magenta ink and placed in margins. A lectionary apparatus, such as dates and lection notes, as well as words  $\alpha\rho\chi(\eta)$  (beginning of a reading) and  $\tau\acute{e}(\lambda)o\zeta$  (end of a reading), was added to the manuscript later (probably in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century) in bright red ink. Lection numbers were added in margins in grayish-brown ink by another hand, which probably also added quire signatures. In all the gospels of DO MS 5, the abbreviated name of the evangelist is

<sup>60</sup> Oretskaya, “Rukopisi s miniatiurnymi figurami” (n. 12 above), figs. 372–75.

<sup>61</sup> D’Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli* (n. 24 above), 242–44, no. 53, esp. 242–43. Vat. gr. 358 displays fleshy acanthus leaves on the epistles of its canon tables and may belong to my DO MS 5 group, but I cannot come to a definite conclusion without seeing more images from the manuscript.

<sup>62</sup> D’Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, 244–48, no. 54, esp. 246; Popova, “Obrazy i stil,” 96–99, figs. 68–71.

<sup>63</sup> Popova, “Chetveroevangelie cod. 57” (n. 39 above), 275 and fig. 236.

<sup>64</sup> Irigoin, “Pour une étude” (n. 46 above), 195.

<sup>65</sup> Spatharakis, *Corpus* (n. 23 above), 1:78.

written in the upper left corner of each verso in bright red ink, most likely by the same hand that produced the lectionary apparatus. To the best of my knowledge, this practice is not common. I have observed it in only one other gospel manuscript (New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.340, executed probably in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople).<sup>66</sup>

There are two thoroughly erased and illegible notes in DO MS 5. One is in the bottom margin of fol. 14r, at the beginning of Matthew’s gospel. The location of the note suggests a donorship or ownership. The other note is on fol. 326v, at the end of the manuscript (the end of John’s gospel is on fol. 326r). The location of this note suggests a scribal colophon. Further analysis with the help of modern technologies may recover the erased texts.

## Binding

The binding is Greek; 260–275 × 205 mm; it consists of dark red velvet, which is intertwined with the remains of yellow silk and silver threads and is placed over a plain protective cloth covering grooved 12-mm-thick wooden boards. The manuscript was sewn at four stations. The end-bands are red and white. The fasteners consist of two metal pegs inserted into the fore edge of the front cover (the upper peg is now broken) and two braided leather straps anchored to the back cover; the straps end with metal rings that clasp onto the pegs. The front cover is decorated with a metal cross positioned in the middle of the cover. The cross is engraved with seven Passion and post-Passion scenes, which are, top to bottom: Ascension, Anastasis, Crucifixion, Deposition from the Cross, Pentecost; left arm: the Gethsemane Prayer (the Agony in the Garden); right arm: Koimesis (the Dormition of the Theotokos).<sup>67</sup> In addition, four metal roundels with the symbols of the evangelists are in the corners of the front cover (Lion in the upper left corner, Ox in the upper right corner, Eagle in the bottom left corner, and Man/Angel/Messenger in the bottom right corner).

<sup>66</sup> Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue IV.1” (n. 11 above), 71–85, esp. 80.

<sup>67</sup> I thank Kathleen Maxwell and Nancy Ševčenko for helping me to identify the seven scenes.

The binding can be dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, because the front cover pastedown is from the same stock of paper as the fly-leaf with the watermark (see “Physical Description” above). The back cover pastedown is also paper (tightly spaced laid lines are visible with a magnifying glass), but this paper is different from the front cover pastedown. The back cover paper pastedown has the same brownish yellow color as the last parchment folio. This color may be a natural darkening or a deliberate attempt to match the color of the parchment during modern restoration, which included reinforcement of the attachment of the front cover to the body of the book with a tan leather strip.

### Conclusion

DO MS 5 was very probably executed in the last quarter of the eleventh century in Constantinople in a milieu of artisans—scribes and illuminators—who specialized in the production of illuminated lectionaries and gospel manuscripts for major monasteries and churches as well as wealthy clerical and lay patrons. These artisans either worked independently in small groups or were organized in a larger ergasterion. DO MS 5 was almost certainly commissioned by a highly placed patron

who could afford such an extensively illuminated manuscript.<sup>68</sup>

By focusing on the codicological, paleographic, and decorative features of DO MS 5, I was able to describe it in detail and to group it with closely related manuscripts. New research techniques and technologies may corroborate and elaborate my characterizations and interpretations of DO MS 5 and may restore its erased colophon and ownership note. The worldwide digitization of Greek manuscripts is making many more Byzantine manuscripts available for comparative and interdisciplinary analysis and will facilitate further study of DO MS 5 and related manuscripts.

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<sup>68</sup> On the cost of manuscripts, see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 213–234; N. G. Wilson, “Books and Readers in Byzantium,” in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, DC, 1975), 1–15, esp. 2–4; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium: Scribes, Scriptoria, and Patrons,” in Krueger and Nelson, *New Testament in Byzantium* (n. 1 above).

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